

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 EURE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 PM-09 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 GAC-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 H-02 NSC-10

SS-15 IO-12 OIC-04 ACDA-19 AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01

RSR-01 /143 W

----- 031329

O 251901 Z APR 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9873

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 2899

USNMR SHAPE

USDOCOSOUTH IMMEDIATE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2055

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: APRIL 25 NAC DISCUSSION OF DRAFT GUIDANCE

GABLE TO AD HOC GROUP

USDOCOSOUTH FOR AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD

HELSINKI FOR USDEL MPT

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: A) USNATO 1992; B) STATE 77613; C) USNATO 1242

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SUMMARY: UK BOWED TO MAJORITY WILL TO ACCEPT SOVIET PROCEDURES PARTICIPATION PROPOSAL, BUT ASKED FOR THREE AMENDMENTS TO DRAFT GUIDANCE TO AD HOC GROUP PROPOSED BY SYG. AMENDMENTS WERE TO SPECIFY: 1) THAT EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS SHOULD BE PART OF

PROCEDURES PAPER; 2) THAT AGREED RULES SHOULD " APPLY INITIALLY"  
VICE " BE CARRIED OVER" TO NEGOTIATIONS; AND 3) THAT ALLIED REPS  
IN VIENNA SHOULD NOW TELESCOPE AGENDA DISCUSSIONS AND SEEK  
SHORT AGREED COMMUNIQUE WITH DATE AND PLACE FOR NEGOTIATIONS.  
FRG SUPPORTED AMENDMENTS; U. S. AND NETHERLANDS OPPOSED FIRST  
AND THIRD AMENDMENTS, AND OTHERS GREETED THEM COOLLY. SYG  
PROMISED COMPROMISE TEXT WHICH SPC WILL REVIEW APRIL 26, AND  
NAC WILL MEET AGAIN ON APRIL 27 AT 4 P. M.  
WE NEED NO RPT NO NEW INSTRUCTIONS FOR 1200-1245 MEETING WITH FRANCOIS XAVIER ORTOLI, PRESIDENT OF  
THE COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES  
1300-1500 LUNCH GIVEN BY PRESIDENT ORTOLI  
AFTERNOON - DEPARTURE FOR US.  
GREENWALD

UNCLASSIFIED  
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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 EURE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 PM-09 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 GAC-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 H-02 NSC-10

SS-15 IO-12 OIC-04 ACDA-19 AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01

RSR-01 /143 W  
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O 251901 Z APR 73  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9874  
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 2900  
USNMR SHAPE  
USDOCOSOUTH IMMEDIATE  
USLOSACLANT  
USCINCEUR  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 2055

USDOCOSOUTH FOR AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD

HELSINKI FOR USDEL MPT

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: A) USNATO 1992; B) STATE 77613; C) USNATO 1242

6. BUWALDA ( NETHERLANDS CHARGE) ASKED FOR INCLUSION OF POINT D OF MARCH 12 GUIDANCE AS WELL, SO AS TO REAFFIRM THAT ALLIES WOULD SEEK AN AGENDA ITEM ALLOWING THEM TO DEAL WITH NON- CIRCUMVENTION IN NEGOTIATIONS. ALTERNATIVELY, MARCH 12 GUIDANCE COULD BE RECONFIRMED IN FULL, WITHOUT REPEATING IT.

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7. BUWALDA SAID HE HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS ON UK POINTS, BUT THOUGHT PROPOSED NEW PARA SEEMED " DEFEATIST". ASSUMING THAT SOVIETS WILL NEVER AGREE TO DATE AND PLACE FOR MBFR NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL SATISFACTORY OUTCOME OF CSCE MPT, ALLIES IN VIENNA HAVE AMPLE TIME TO TEST SOVIETS AND SEE WHAT CAN BE ACHIEVED. HE HAD NOT UNDERSTOOD DE STAERCKE IN PREVIOUS WEEK' S NAC TO HAVE BEEN PROPOSED THAT ALLIES SCRAP THEIR AGENDA PROPOSALS IN GAP.

8. BOSS ( FRG CHARGE) EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR UK SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE. HE SAID FRG SUPPORTS UK VIEW THAT EXPLORATIONS SHOULD FINISH SOON, THAT THERE SHOULD BE A SHORT COMMUNIQUE AND THAT ALLIED REPS IN VIENNA SHOULD AVOID DISCUSSION OF MBFR SUBSTANCE. FRG BELIEVES COMMUNIQUE SHOULD INCLUDE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF ALLIED AGENDA PROPOSALS IN DESCRIPTION OF PROJECTED NEGOTIATIONS. JUDGMENT AS TO HOW AND WHEN DISCUSSION OF COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BEGIN WOULD BEST BE LEFT TO ALLIED NEGOTIATORS IN VIENNA. HE SUPPORTED ALL OF UK AMENDMENTS.

9. MCAULIFFE JOINED OTHERS IN EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR UK COMPROMISE. HE SAW NO OBJECTION TO AMENDMENT SUGGESTED BY CATALANO, BUT FORESAW SOME DIFFICULTIES WITH FIRST AND THIRD UK PROPOSALS FOR AMENDMENTS. NAC HAD ONLY LAST WEEK PRAISED AHG REPS, INCLUDING UK REP, FOR THEIR ABILITY AND JUDGMENT IN CARRYING OUT GENERAL GUIDANCE. UK AMDNEMENTS WOULD IN EFFECT GIVE THEM MORE DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS THAN NECESSARY. WITH REGARD TO FIRST AMENDMENT, MCAULIFFE DREW ON INSTRUCTIONS IN REF B TO OBSERVE THAT US SAW NO NEED FOR ANY REFERENCE TO FORM OF EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS. ALLIED EMISSARIES IN VIENNA HAD POINTED OUT APRIL 13 AHG MEETING THAT SOVIETS APPEARED TO HAVE IN MIND THAT PROCEDURES PAPER AND STATEMENTS WOULD BE READ ALOUD AT THE FIRST FORMAL PLENARY AND INCORPORATED INTO AN OFFICIAL MINUTE OF SOME KIND, BUT THAT THE ISSUE REMAINED OPEN FOR LATER SETTLEMENT. WITH THISBACKGROUND, WHAT WAS IMPORTANT TO ALLIES WAS TO ENSURE THAT THE EASTERN SIDE ACKNOWLEDGES THE EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS AND THAT THEY HAVE SOME FORMAL STATUS SIMILAR TO THAT OF THE PROCEDURES PAPER. THUS, IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT STATEMENTS SHOULD APPEAR IN WRITTEN FORM AS PART OF THE PACKAGE. BEYOND THAT, MCAULIFFE SAID NAC SHOULD NOT BURDEN OR HAMPER NEGOTIATORS WITH DETAILED GUIDANCE AS

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TO HOW THIS WAS TO BE ACHIEVED.

10. WITH REGARD TO THIRD UK AMENDMENT, MCAULIFFE SAID ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD BE FREE TO PROBE SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO AGREE ON AN AGENDA AND DESCRIPTION FOR NEGOTIATIONS. AN AGREED AGENDA WOULD BE USEFUL AND INDICATIONS OF EASTERN PRIORITIES OBTAINED DURING AGENDA DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE VALUABLE IN PREPARING FOR NEGOTIATIONS. IF, AFTER A REASONABLE PERIOD OF DISCUSSION, AGREEMENT ON AN AGENDA DID NOT APPEAR CLOSE, THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS COULD RECONSIDER THEIR TACTICS.

11. BAL ( BELGIUM) GAVE VIEW THAT DISCUSSIONS IN VIENNA SHOULD NOT BE PROLONGED TOO MUCH, IN VIEW OF ALLIED NEED TO TURN TO DEVELOPMENT OF NEGOTIATING POSITIONS IN LIGHT OF FORTHCOMING US CONTRIBUTION AND PROBABLY FROM OTHERS. HE DID NOT ADDRESS PROPOSED AMENDMENTS. SEKERIS ( GREECE) SUPPORTED MCAULIFFE'S STATEMENT; AS MEMBER OF AHG, HE WAS CERTAIN THAT ALLIED REPS WOULD APPRECIATE MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY.

12. IN DEFENSE OF THIRD UK AMENDMENT, THOMSON SAID HE WAS SURPRISED THAT NETHERLANDS REP WAS PREPARED TO GIVE UP ON HUNGARY NOW, IF NETHERLANDS BELIEVED IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT TALKS WOULD GO ON FOR SOME TIME BEFORE SOVIETS AGREE TO DATE AND PLACE. UK IS CONCERNED THAT ALLIES ARE GIVING AWAY THEIR POSITION BIT BY BIT, AND GAINING NOTHING FOR IT. HOWEVER, UK DOES NOT OBJECT TO " DEPLOYING" ALLIED AGENDA PROPOSALS. UK IS ONLY CONCERNED THAT POLITICAL SUBSTANCE OF FORMULATIONS LAID DOWN IN GUIDELINES AND AGENDA PAPER NOT BE LOST IN FORTHCOMING DISCUSSIONS. IF ALLIES PURSUED GAP AGENDA NOW, UK VIEW IS THAT THEY WOULD AT BEST GAIN " HALF A LOAF"; THEY MIGHT ACHIEVE MUCH MORE IF THEY SEEK AGREEMENT ON AGENDA LATER, IN THE PROPER CONTEXT.

13. SYG NOTED THAT MANY DELEGATIONS HAD NOT HAD OPPORTUNITY TO FORMULATE POSITIONS ON AMENDMENTS JUST CIRCULATED BY UK. QUITE A FEW OF ALLIES THOUGHT THERE SHOULD BE AT LEAST A PROBE WITH EAST ON ALLIED AGENDA PROPOSALS, AFTER WHICH ALLIES MIGHT FALL BACK TO UK PROPOSAL IF AGREEMENT WAS NOT CLOSE. HE READ POSSIBLE COMPROMISE TEXT DEVELOPED PRIOR TO MEETING WHICH WOULD REPLACE UK THIRD AMENDMENT AND ASKED IF UK COULD ACCEPT IT. TEXT AS FOLLOWS:

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BEGIN TEXT

ONCE THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE HAS BEEN SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FOREGOING CONSIDERATIONS, THE CONSENSUS OF THE COUNCIL IS THAT ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD PROBE SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO AGREE ON AN AGENDA AND DESCRIPTION OF THE TALKS. IF, AFTER A REASONABLE PERIOD OF DISCUSSION, AGREEMENT DOES NOT APPEAR CLOSE ON AN AGENDA IN TERMS WHICH

THE ALLIES FIND ACCEPTABLE, THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD  
WORK FOR A SHORT AGREED COMMUNIQUE SPECIFYING THE DATE AND  
PLACE OF SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS, LEAVING DETAILED CONSIDERATION  
OF THE AGENDA TO THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES. ANY REFERENCE TO  
PARTICIPATION AND PROCEDURES IN THE COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BE  
CONSISTENT WITH THE AGREEMENT NEGOTIATED FOR THE EXPLORATORY TALKS.  
END TEXT

14. UK REP DID NOT OBJECT, AND SYG PROMISED TO CIRCULATE NEW  
DRAFT REFLECTING COUNCIL DISCUSSION. SPC WILL MEET ON  
THIS DRAFT APRIL 26. AFTER SPC REVIEW ( IN WHICH WE WILL  
CONTINUE TO FOLLOW INSTRUCTIONS IN REF B), NEW DRAFT OF SYG'S  
GUIDANCE CABLE TO AHG WILL BE SUBMITTED FOR COUNCIL ACTION  
ON APRIL 27. ON THE BASIS OF TODAY'S MEETING, WE DO NOT  
ANTICIPATE SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN ARRIVING AT AGREED GUIDANCE  
CABLE TO AHG COMPATIBLE WITH INSTRUCTIONS.  
MCAULIFFE

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 02 APR 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 25 APR 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** boyleja  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973NATO02055  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** NATO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19730458/abqcdynb.tel  
**Line Count:** 235  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** n/a  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** A) USNATO 1992; B) STATE 77613; C) USNATO 1242  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** boyleja  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:** ANOMALY  
**Review Date:** 13 AUG 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <13-Aug-2001 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <18-Sep-2001 by boyleja>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MBFR: APRIL 25 NAC DISCUSSION OF DRAFT GUIDANCE GABLE TO AD HOC GROUP  
**TAGS:** PARM, NATO  
**To:** STATE  
SECDEF INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS  
USNMR SHAPE  
USDOCOSOUTH  
USLOSACLANT  
USCINCEUR  
HELSINKI

VIENNA  
MOSCOW

**Type:** TE

**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005